

American Research Center in Egypt , Inc.

NEWSLETTER



NUMBER 103

WINTER 1977/78

ORC Building
North Harrison Street
Princeton, New Jersey 08540
United States of America

2, Midan Qasr el Dubbarah
Garden City, Cairo
Arab Republic of Egypt

AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT
INCORPORATED

ORC Building
North Harrison Street
Princeton, New Jersey 08540
United States of America
Telephone: (609) 921-3797

2, Midan Qasr el-Dubbarah
Garden City, Cairo
Arab Republic of Egypt
Telephone: 28239-33052

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C O N T E N T S

	<u>PAGE</u>
ARCE News.....	1
Research News.....	2
New Publication.....	2
News of Other Associations.....	3
Research Report	
- Malcolm H. Kerr.....	4
Diffusion of Contraceptive Technology in the Arab Republic of Egypt	
- Mary Therese Taylor Hassouna.....	8
ARCE in Egypt.....	11
Research Report	
- Farhat J. Ziadeh.....	12
Naukratis Project: 1978	
- William D.E. Coulson and Albert Leonard, Jr.....	13
Researching Sirat Antar	
- Peter Heath.....	27

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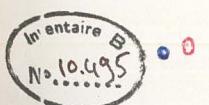
Linda Pappas Funsch
Editor

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ARCE NEWS

Former Cairo Director Honored

A rare honor from President Anwar el-Sadat was conferred upon John Dorman, former Cairo Director of the ARCE, at the Egyptian Embassy in Washington, D.C., in December, 1977. The Order of the Republic medal was presented to Mr. Dorman by Ambassador Ashraf Ghorbal. Mrs. Nene Dorman received a similar medal.

A citation, signed by President Sadat, stated that the medals were given "(i)n appreciation of your outstanding qualities and many services." Mr. Dorman served as the ARCE's Cairo Director from 1966-1976.

New Institutional Members

The ARCE is pleased to announce that Louisiana State University and the University of Virginia have joined our consortium as Institutional Members.

Further, the Brooklyn Museum has upgraded its support to the ARCE to become a Research Supporting Member.

Assistant Cairo Director Sought

The ARCE is seeking qualified candidates for the position of Assistant Director of the Cairo office. Preference will be given to holders of a Ph.D. degree who have a strong background in archaeology and experience in the problems particular to Egypt and the Middle East. Other useful specialties include Egyptology, Coptology, and Islamic studies. Prior research in and knowledge of Egypt is essential.

The appointment will normally be for two years only at a maximum salary of \$16,000 in Egyptian pounds (LE 11,200) per year. Transportation for the Assistant Director and family to and from Egypt is available plus one additional forty-five day return to the U.S. for business.

It is expected that the Assistant Director may have time free for scholarly activities including, where possible, a free period for field work outside Cairo.

Those interested should apply immediately to the Princeton office of the ARCE, submitting a c.v. and appropriate letters of support.

RESEARCH NEWS

NEH Increases Support

The National Endowment for the Humanities has awarded the ARCE a three-year grant in the amount of \$180,000 for research fellowships in Egypt. Eligibility is limited to senior scholars. Stipends of up to \$20,000 per year are payable in U.S. dollars.

Fellowship Application Deadline

Applications for all 1979-80 ARCE fellowships must be received by the Princeton office before November 30, 1978. Doctoral dissertation students, as well as senior scholars, are eligible for these awards. In general, stipends are paid in Egyptian currency.

Application forms are available upon request.

Smithsonian Project Support

Applications for 1979-80 funding through the Smithsonian Institution's Special Foreign Currency Program will be accepted by the ARCE until July 30, 1978. Smithsonian grants, awarded in Egyptian currency, are designed to support the research of established scholars, generally on the postdoctoral level. These funds are awarded to the ARCE to support work in archeology, Egyptology, social, physical, and cultural anthropology, ethnology, and linguistics. For further information, contact the Princeton office.

NEW PUBLICATION

"Educational Media Resources on Egypt"

prepared by

The University of Michigan
Audio-Visual Educational Center
Ann Arbor, Michigan (1977)

A directory of instructional media relating to the study of Egypt, including over four hundred items of films, filmstrips, slide sets, audio tapes, records, video tapes, and kits.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S.
Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402.

NEWS OF OTHER ASSOCIATIONS

International Association of Egyptologists

At the First International Congress of Egyptologists, held in Cairo from October 2-10, 1976, the International Association of Egyptologists was reorganized and provisional articles were adopted.

Dr. Gamal Moukhtar (Egypt) was elected Honorary President, with Professor Kazimierz Michalowski (Poland) as Honorary Vice President. The other members of the Honorary Committee are Prof. Achille Adriani, Dr. I.E.S. Edwards, Prof. M. Korostovtsev, Prof. H.W. Müller, Prof. R. Parker, and Prof. Georges Posener, Prof. Torgny Säve-Söderbergh (Sweden) was elected Acting President and Prof. Jean Leclant (France) is responsible for the Secretariat. The Council has the following members: Martin Almagro (Spain), M. Bietak (Austria), Carla Burri and S. Curto (Italy), H. de Meulenaere (Belgium), G. Haeny (Switzerland), W. Helck (Germany), Fr. Hintze (Germany), E. Iversen (Denmark), J.J. Janssen (Netherlands), Ahmed Kadry (Egypt), W. Kaiser (Germany), G.T. Martin (England), Ch. Maystre (Switzerland), D.B. Redford (Canada), Abd el Aziz Saleh (Egypt), Negm ed Din Mohammed Sherif (the Sudan), W.K. Simpson (U.S.A.), G. Thausing (Austria), M. Verner (Czechoslovakia), V. Wessetzky (Hungary), and D. Wildung (Germany).

The International Association is sponsoring the Annual Egyptological Bibliography, with Dr. J. Janssen as Acting Editor, and is organizing the Second International Congress of Egyptologists, to be held in Grenoble (France) in the second part of September, 1979.

The general scope of the Association is to promote the study of Egyptology in all its aspects and different projects to this effect are under discussion.

The President and Secretary have tried to contact the participants of the Cairo Congress, as well as other Egyptologists who may be interested in becoming members. We are fully aware that, for different reasons, our circular letter has not reached all our colleagues and institutes of Egyptology.

Those who wish to join the Association are invited to address themselves to the President (Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, Gustavianum, S-752 20 Uppsala, Sweden) or the Secretary (Jean Leclant, Centre de Recherches Egyptologiques de la Sorbonne, 1 Rue Victor-Cousin, F-75005 Paris, France).

There is no annual subscription but to cover some of the initial costs of the Secretariat an enrolment fee of the equivalent of U.S. \$10.00 (for students U.S. \$5.00) is payable by bank or post cheque to the Secretary, J. Leclant (C.C.P. 5319-48 Paris) until a special account of the Association has been opened. If you have difficulties in transferring the currency for the enrolment fee, please notify the Secretary who will inform you to whom you can pay the fee in your own country.

We are grateful for all suggestions and proposals regarding the future activities of the Association.

Torgny Säve-Söderbergh

Jean Leclant

RESEARCH REPORT

by

Malcolm H. Kerr
University of California, Los Angeles
ARCE Fellow, 1976-77

I spent the 1976-77 academic year in Cairo studying political changes in Egypt since Nasser, in the context of the evolving special relationship between Egypt and Saudi Arabia. This represented a complete change from my original plans outlined in my application for the fellowship, which called for a study of educational planning in Egypt. The change was made, with the approval of ARCE President Morroe Berger and Cairo Director Paul Walker, after it became clear to me that the Sadat regime was not only a more timely and challenging subject for a political scientist, but indeed of such fundamental significance from the standpoint of our understanding of the modern political history of Egypt that I could not afford to ignore it.

My work in Cairo represented the first installment of what I expect to be a project of approximately four years' duration. While studying Egyptian political change, I also prepared and submitted to the Ford Foundation a proposal for a research grant entitled "Rich and Poor States in the Middle East." The grant was awarded by the Foundation in September, 1977. A group of four UCLA faculty members and six or more Arab social scientists will collaborate in studying the political, social, and economic ramifications of economic development in the next ten to twenty years in Egypt, in the light of varying amounts and forms of aid that might be provided by the leading oil states. If the work is successful, the project may later be extended to include other Middle Eastern countries.

The central concern of the study is the future of the Egyptian economy, in the light of Egypt's domestic circumstances and of her relations with major Arab oil-producing states. The study broadly represents an effort to assess prospects for national development in Middle Eastern countries in an era of markedly uneven distribution of wealth.

What considerations will determine the volume and modalities of capital transfers from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar to Egypt during the coming two decades? How may the course of development within the oil states affect their policies toward Egypt as the object of their beneficence or as a field for their investment? Most important, what considerations will determine the prospects for achieving sustained economic progress within Egypt, under conditions of large or small capital inflows?

Events in recent years have sharpened the significance of such questions. The Egyptian economy has reached a critical condition and has become heavily dependent on loans and grants from abroad. Egypt's rising population (now about 40 million) in proportion to her limited natural resources, her prolonged conflict with Israel, the overstrained condition of her national equipment and facilities, the massive emigration of professionals and skilled workers, and the political and social obstacles to her taking strong measures to increase the productivity and restrain the consumption habits of many of her people conspire to threaten Egypt with the specter of national pauperization.

Yet, because Egypt is the most populous country in the Middle East, with a strategic geographic and diplomatic position and substantial military forces, it is highly unlikely that her pauperization would be a quiet process of inner-directed misery that her neighbors or others could ignore.

At the other end of the spectrum, the Gulf Arab oil states are among the world's outstanding examples of sparsely populated, abundantly wealthy oil producers, unable to absorb more than a fraction of their revenues in their own domestic development projects, and finding themselves since 1973 in the awkward and unaccustomed role of great powers in the world of finance. Their accumulated surplus funds are available for a multitude of purposes, among which the resuscitation of the Egyptian economy (as well as aid to other Arab states) is an obvious prime candidate.

Meanwhile the economic and political orientations of the Egyptian government have undergone a dramatic shift since 1973, in a manner well calculated to maximize Egypt's eligibility for large-scale aid and investment from the oil monarchies. The Sadat regime has relaxed numerous economic and financial controls, given pointed encouragement to domestic and foreign investors, restored a significant measure of political liberty and an atmosphere of the rule of law, held free parliamentary elections, and inaugurated a system of multiple political parties. In foreign affairs it has turned toward cooperation with the United States and the conservative regimes in the Middle East, and toward the negotiation of peace with Israel.

Thus, the conditions appear to be right to promote a solution of Egypt's economic problems by means of an "Arab Marshall Plan," financed mainly by the oil producers. Should this be even minimally successful, that would constitute welcome news for the development prospects of other hard-pressed national economies in the Middle East and elsewhere. If it is not successful, Egypt and others must prepare for very different sets of alternative policies in the economic, political, and diplomatic spheres.

Yet it is by no means clear in the first instance that the Gulf states will see fit to finance Egyptian economic development on anything like the scale minimally required. And even if they do so, the mere availability of large capital resources will not necessarily produce the desired results inside Egypt.

In deciding what help to render, the Gulf states must take a variety of economic and political considerations into account. Pressed by numerous demands for the distribution of their wealth abroad, they are naturally reluctant to write blank checks to a country of 40 million inhabitants who could quite conceivably waste several billions of dollars annually on increased consumption and on unpromising investment schemes. An important problem in this regard is the bloated and cumbersome state of the Egyptian bureaucracy, which is widely regarded in the Gulf and elsewhere as a major obstacle to the economic liberalization strategy of President Sadat and to the efficient use of aid and investment funds.

There is thus no reason for the governments of the Gulf states to assume that a dollar of aid will purchase a dollar's worth of development. In fact the Saudi and Kuwaiti governments, echoing the advice of the International Monetary Fund, have pressed Egypt to undertake various economic and administrative reforms as preconditions for the award of additional aid.

Thus an important area of investigation is the set of preconceptions about the Egyptian economy and society that prevail in Saudi and Kuwaiti official circles. Members of these circles -- many of them Egyptian and other Arab expatriate advisers -- may be influenced to some degree in their perceptions by their own domestic experience with the business of planning and development. As Galal Amin has shown in his study of comparative economic growth in nine Arab states, The Modernization of Poverty (Leiden: Brill, 1974), this has been a wasteful process in which the abundant availability of capital has been as much a handicap as an asset, since it has removed incentives to set priorities, calculate costs and benefits, and improve productivity. Reflected onto the Egyptian economic scene, such experience could accentuate the perceptions of Saudi and Kuwaiti economic authorities of Egypt as a bottomless pit, and therefore it could heighten their reluctance to make large, long-term aid commitments.

Regardless of the calculations of the economists, the political leaders of the oil monarchies have another set of questions to consider. How well developed do they wish the Egyptian economy to become? How willing are they to renounce their political patronage over Egypt, now generated by their periodic award to her of ad hoc grants and loans? What relationship with Egypt would they expect to have if she became economically prosperous -- and therefore, no doubt, militarily and politically powerful? To what extent may the answers to these questions be affected by sentiments of Arab solidarity with Egypt? And to what extent might the answers vary if new regimes rose to power in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia or Egypt itself?

The final and most important set of questions concern the economic, political and social dynamics of domestic Egyptian life and the prospects of economic progress under various alternative circumstances. What volume of capital transfers is minimally needed to fuel sustained growth? What set of investment priorities, what changes in savings and consumption patterns, population growth, manpower training, recovery of emigrant manpower resources, organization of government and the economy? What are the needs and prospects in the field of administrative reform? What would be the minimal and maximal prospects, assuming alternative capital inflows of, let us say, five, ten, or fifteen billion dollars a year over a given span of time? What would be the effects of economic success or failure, with or without a large inflow, on the country's internal politics and social organization and on her external relations?

Conversely, assuming varying levels of external aid, what assessment can be made of the long-run impact of the policies of economic, political and diplomatic liberalization currently pursued by the Egyptian government?

The research I accomplished during the year consisted of gathering basic political and economic data about Egypt since 1973. It is not, nor did I expect it to be, ready for publication; my plan is to continue working on it for the next two or three years, with the aid of field trips in each of the two coming summers to Egypt and the Gulf countries. At the end of that period I expect to produce a monograph, while other collaborators in the project will produce theirs on approximately the same schedule. In the interval I may prepare an article or two for publication with preliminary findings.

In addition to my research fellowship at the ARCE, during the first semester I was concurrently an unsalaried Distinguished Visiting Professor at the American University in Cairo. Under this arrangement I was given the use of a faculty office, and gave a series of three public lectures as well as miscellaneous classroom lectures in various courses.

During the year I gave lectures sponsored by the USIS in Tunisia, Morocco, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi, Oman, Kuwait, Syria, Jordan, and Israel. I also returned briefly to the United States to attend a meeting of the Middle East Study Group of the Brookings Institution and to present a paper at a conference on the Middle East conflict at the Seven Springs Center of Yale University.

مركز البحوث الأمريكية بمصر

DIFFUSION OF CONTRACEPTIVE TECHNOLOGY IN THE
ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

Mary Therese Taylor Hassouna
University of Denver
ARCE Fellow, 1977-78

I held an ARCE fellowship from July to December, 1977, in order to pursue my doctoral dissertation research on the diffusion of contraceptive technology in the Arab Republic of Egypt. During the six-month period covered by this award, I completed the data collection phase of my research.

The diffusion of innovations in government-sponsored family planning programs clearly stands out as an interesting development of our time, as does the use of contraceptive technology. One of the questions that often puzzles people is why high birth rates persist in many developing countries which have adopted national family planning programs. Scholars from a number of disciplines have attempted to answer this question. Anthropologists engaged in population and family planning research have offered many useful insights into pronatalist beliefs and practices which consequently inhibit the adoption of the small family norm. Demographers, as well as health and population planners, have demonstrated that high infant mortality inhibits the adoption of contraceptive technology. Rural sociologists have demonstrated that the need for labor in agriculturally-based peasant societies acts as a deterrent to the adoption of small families.

My research accepts many of these findings but suggests, also, that there is a latent demand for smaller families as evidenced by KAP (knowledge, attitude, and practice) studies conducted in Egypt and elsewhere. I wish to point out that the national family planning programs themselves may be at least a partial key to the problem of continued high birth rates.

Granting that pronatalist beliefs and practices, high infant mortality, and labor intensive agriculture all tend to inhibit the adoption of the small family norm, I hypothesize that organizational factors within the family planning delivery system can either discourage or encourage the adoption of the small family norm and are, thus, in part responsible for the rate of diffusion of contraceptive technology. The family planning delivery system assumes the role of a change agent diffusing the innovation of contraceptive technology. Family planning services are provided in order to recruit people to the practice of family planning and, hence, to the adoption of the small family norm. It makes sense, therefore, to try to identify those characteristics of family planning services which appear to be associated with the successful diffusion of contraceptive technology. Among the organizational characteristics which interest me are: the orientation of service personnel

toward family planning, with emphasis on their own practice of family planning; complexity of obtaining services; type of services rendered; staffing patterns; outreach orientation of the family planning service; autonomy/accountability of the family planning service; incentive schemes of the family planning service; degree of formalization; longevity; and, the size of the family planning service.

The principle research questions I seek to answer are:

- (1) What is the relationship between policy formulation and actual implementation in the service units;? and,
- (2) Is there any relationship between the characteristics chosen for studying family planning units and diffusion of contraceptive technology by those units?

In order to arrive at answers to these questions, it is necessary to collect information at both the levels of national policy formulation and implementation. I selected Egypt for this study because it is a country with a well-developed health infrastructure. The present state of contraceptive technology necessitates close supervision and coordination of family planning services with and by the health delivery system. Egypt met this criterion.

During my six months as an ARCE Fellow, I was able to collect such information through interviews with government policy makers. Information on implementation was obtained through secondary sources, including publications of the Population Family Planning Board (PFPB) and those of its various departments, publications of the General Family Planning Association (GFPA), and those of the Ministry of Health.

For primary sources from the field, I was permitted by Dr. W.A. Hassouna, Director of ECTOR and Professor of Health and Social Planning at the Institute of National Planning, to include my questions on the characteristics of units diffusing contraceptive technology in research that he was conducting and in which ECTOR and the Ministry of Health were interested. I was able, therefore, to obtain current information on a systematic random sample of one hundred units offering family planning services in Egypt. In addition to being of interest academically, some of the preliminary results have already proven useful to the Ministry of Health in the reformulation of policies governing family planning services.

The Cairo Center of the ARCE is developing a greater capability for offering assistance to Fellows who are social scientists. In an effort to assist others who are contemplating such research, I would like to offer some observations.

Research in Egypt, as daily living, consumes a great deal of time and energy. This should be borne in mind when estimating the time it will take to complete your work.

Archival research has its own difficulties but field research also requires various permissions. It is often best to work with national institutions which have research interests in the same area as your own. In my case, it would have been nearly impossible in the six months allotted to have collected the information on family planning services had it not been for the fact that my research interests were compatible with those of the Director of ECTOR who so graciously allowed me to include my material in one of the projects. National institutes, such as the one mentioned above and others - all of which have the same academic standing as university faculties - should be approached to explore cooperative possibilities in the field of social research. The ARCE's Cairo Center is currently developing a comprehensive file on social research institutions in Egypt and is most willing to assist Fellows in making the necessary contacts.

Never underestimate the time and trouble that lack of adequate telephone communications creates. Even when one has a telephone, connections are often so poor that the phone can only be used for transmitting messages. Any serious inquiry requires a personal visit.

Courtesy and politeness are essential in Egypt. Be very leary of those who say time does not mean much there. If you are interviewing, make sure to be on time. Nothing irritates overworked Egyptian professionals more than the foreigner who is of the attitude that their time is not important.

When dealing with the bureaucracy, remember two things: that Egyptians themselves joke that it took 5,000 years to perfect their elaborate bureaucracy and that clerks consider their control of information to be a primary source of esteem and power. Be gracious, kind, and patient. Never appear to be overly anxious to obtain information. Remember that with most Egyptians good manners and kindness will get you the information you need. However, do not forget that in some places a facilitator fee may be expected by those who handle bureaucratic matters.

If you hire research assistants be sure to know in advance what the current rates are. Hire people either on a completed job or monthly basis but never by the hour. This applies especially to interviewers, translators, and editors.

If you anticipate using computer facilities, be careful. You will have to double check your key punching yourself. Never assume anything. It is best if you know how to write your own programs. Know exactly what you want done and get several different quotations on cost before you actually arrange to have it done. If you have a small sample, consider hiring graduate assistants to do simple statistical analysis by a hand calculator. There are not that many computer facilities in Egypt anyway and, while the computer is theoretically faster, it may take a long time before your work can be processed.

For social science research, a working knowledge of Arabic is desirable - at least colloquial Egyptian. However, there are always people who are interested and able to translate reports. Interviewing government policy makers can always be done in English but interviews at other levels should be conducted in colloquial Egyptian.

مركز البحوث الأكاديمية بمصر

ARCE IN EGYPT

Fellows' Seminar Series

January 4, 1978

Chris Eccel:

"Urban Administration, the Labor Force,
and Urbanization in Egypt"

Cornell Fleischer:

"Gelidolulu Moustafa Ali and Sixteenth
Century Ottoman Historiography"

January 6, 1978
Special Seminar

Dr. Louis Awad:

"Contemporary Arab Approaches to the
Study of History"

January 11, 1978

Linda Schumaker:

"Features of Middle Arabic Syntax"

Salwa El-Shawan:

"Arabic Music of Modern Egypt"

RESEARCH REPORT

by

Farhat J. Ziadeh
University of Washington
ARCE Fellow, 1977

The ARCE fellowship which I held between March and September, 1977, enabled me to accomplish two major tasks I had proposed to do, in addition to the usual educational experience one derives from just being in Cairo, meeting the various scholars in one's field, and visiting the numerous libraries, bookshops and book stalls. The first task was to prepare for publication an edition of a work by a jurist named al-Khassaf (d. 370/980). The edition, which took several years to prepare, had benefited from an earlier period of study in Cairo under an ARCE fellowship in 1972. I am happy to report that the edition, which will comprise more than six hundred pages, is now being printed in Cairo and will be published this year by the American University in Cairo Press. Here I must thank the Center for Arabic Studies at A.U.C., Dr. Muhammed Nuwayhi, Chairman, for providing me with office space and for enabling me to use the A.U.C. Library. I must also thank Professors Hamdi Sakkut and Bernard Weiss for seeing my manuscript through the press. The cooperation I received from C.A.S. and from the A.U.C. Library reflects the true scholarly spirit that motivates their staff.

The second task I had set for myself was to research and write the first draft of a monograph on the laws of property (real rights) in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, and Syria following a historical and comparative approach. The accomplishment of this task was made possible by the existence in Cairo of the Library of the Institute of Higher Arab Studies (Tulumbat St.) which houses most of the laws and legal studies pertaining to the countries of the Arab League. The libraries of A.U.C. and the Bar Association were also of considerable help particularly for materials concerning Egypt. Special thanks are due to Mr. Muhammad Munir of the Library of the Institute of Higher Arab Studies for his help in locating pertinent works and for making it possible for me to borrow them for extended periods. By the way, Mr. Munir is an accomplished bibliophile who can be very helpful in acquiring out-of-print books. I am happy to report that the monograph on the laws of property is being made ready to be sent to the publisher, Graham and Trotman Ltd. of London.

Finally, I am deeply grateful to Paul Walker and his staff at the A.R.C.E. Cairo office for their hospitality and their help in myriad ways making my stay in Cairo both enjoyable and fruitful.

THE NAUKRATIS PROJECT: 1978

William D. E. Coulson, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis
and
Albert Leonard, Jr., University of Missouri, Columbia
Principal Investigators

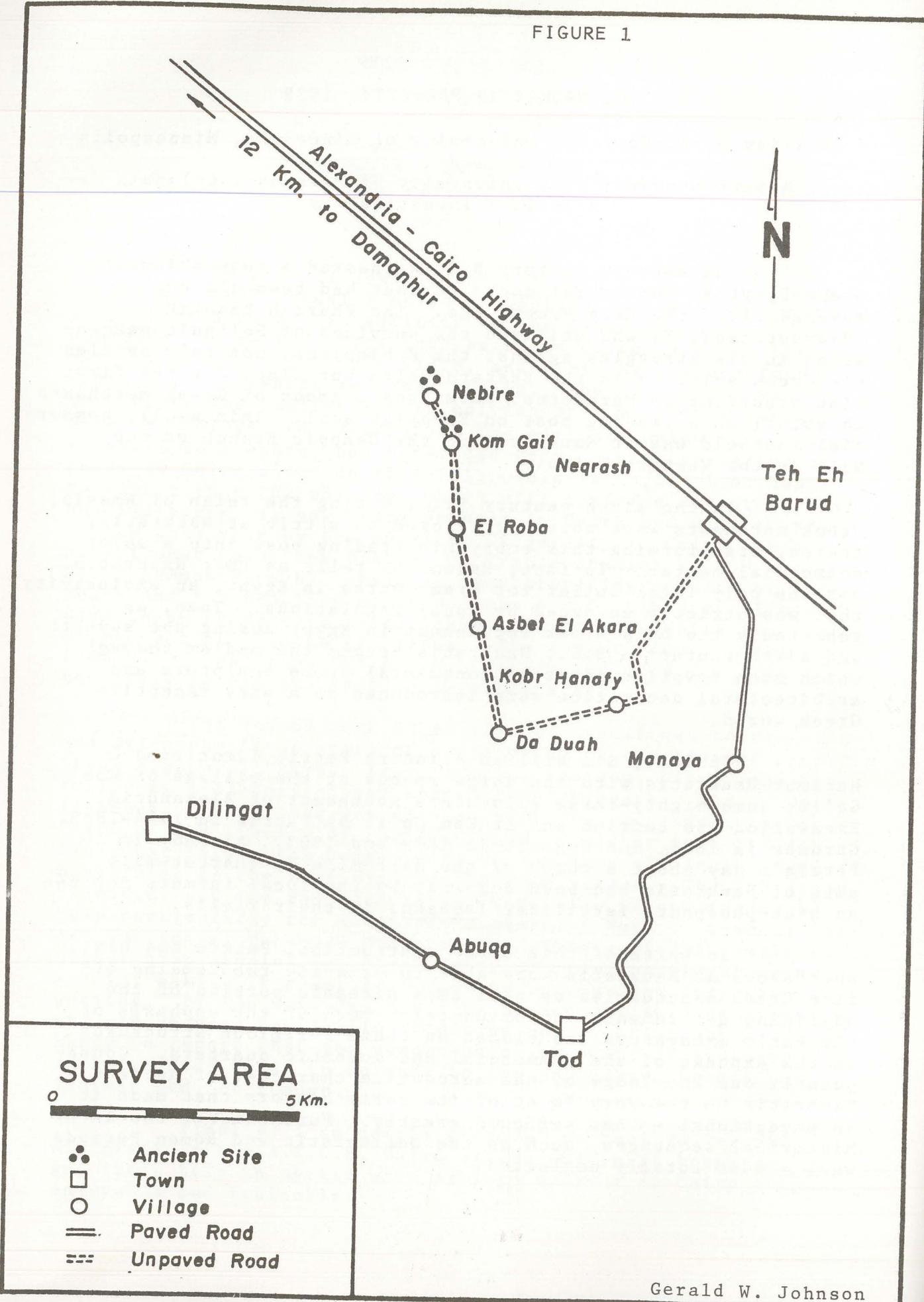
The seventh century B.C. witnessed a resumption of Greco-Egyptian commercial contacts that had been all but severed after the Late Bronze Age. The Pharaoh Psamtik (Psammetichos) I, who utilized the services of Hellenic mercenaries in his struggles against the Ethiopians, not only settled his Greek soldiers in the Eastern Delta but also, for the first time according to Herodotus, permitted a group of Greek merchants to establish a trading post on Egyptian soil. This small, commercial foothold was at Naukratis on the Canopic Branch of the Nile in the Western Delta.

In the sixth century B.C., during the reign of Amasis, Greek merchants were actually allowed to settle at Naukratis, thereby transforming this embryonic trading post into a major commercial center. In fact, Herodotus tells us that Naukratis was the only legal outlet for Greek wares in Egypt, an exclusivity that was strictly enforced by local regulations. Thus, as reportedly the only Greek settlement in Egypt during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., Naukratis became the medium through which such Egyptian ideas as monumental stone sculpture and architectural decoration were introduced to a very receptive Greek world.

In 1884, Sir William Flinders Petrie identified ancient Naukratis with the large mounds at the village of Kom Ge'if, some eighty-three kilometers southeast of Alexandria. Excavation was carried out at Kom Ge'if by Petrie in 1884-1885, Gardner in 1886, and Hogarth in 1899 and 1903. Already in Petrie's day about a third of the half-mile by quarter-mile site of Naukratis had been dug away by the local farmers for use as high-phosphate fertilizer (sebak) in their fields.

In spite of this early destruction, Petrie and his successors at Naukratis were able to excavate the remains of five Greek sanctuaries as well as a sizeable portion of the adjoining settlement. Unfortunately, much of the emphasis of the early excavators was placed on these religious structures at the expense of the commercial and domestic quarters. Consequently our knowledge of the mercantile character of ancient Naukratis -- the very facet of its early history that made it so exceptional -- has suffered greatly. Furthermore, the later historical sequences, such as the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, were almost totally neglected.

FIGURE 1



In an attempt to place this important, early Greek emporium in its proper historical and geographical perspective, the multi-phased Naukratis Project was conceived. The first phase was funded by the Smithsonian Institution and carried out between December 15, 1977 and January 15, 1978 under the auspices of the American Research Center in Egypt. Although this brief, initial phase was primarily intended to acquaint us with future logistical problems we were able to investigate over a dozen sites. Investigation of each site included the preparation of a site plan and the collection of a representative collection of material culture from the surface, as well as the compilation of information on the present state of site preservation and modern settlement obscuration.

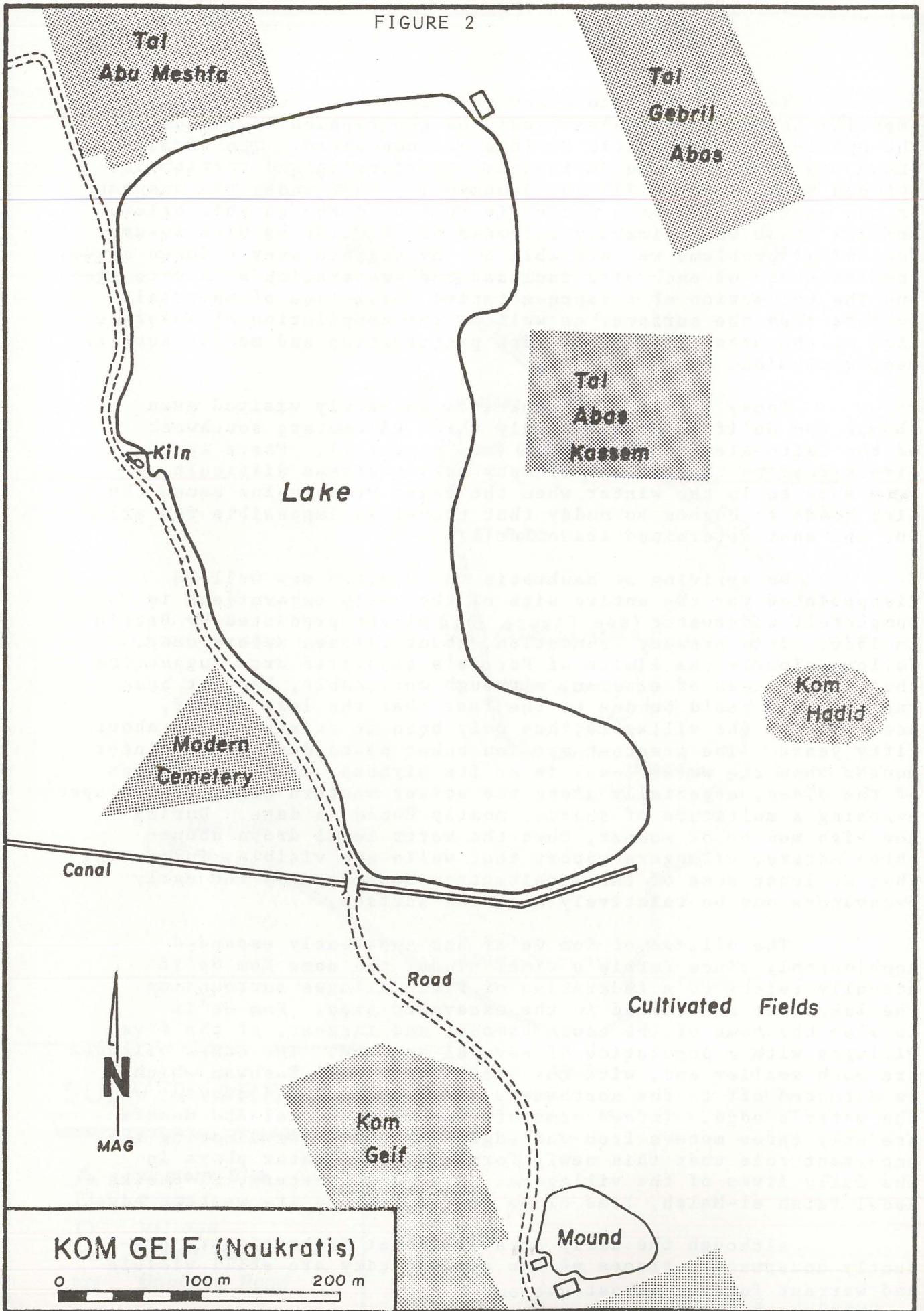
Today the site of Naukratis is rarely visited even though Kom Ge'if is situated only three kilometers southwest of the Cairo-Alexandria highway (see figure 1). There is no direct road to the village thereby making access difficult, even more so in the winter when the heavy Delta rains cause the dirt roads to become so muddy that travel is impossible for all but the most determined traveller.

On arriving at Naukratis the visitor may well be disappointed for the entire site of the early excavations is completely underwater (see figure 2), a plight predicted by Petrie in 1886. This present inundation, about fifteen meters deep, follows closely the limits of Petrie's excavated area suggesting that the process of erosion, although noticeable, has not been rapid. This could be due to the fact that the lake itself, according to the villagers, has only been in existence for about fifty years. The greatest erosion takes place during the winter months when the water level is at its highest, causing portions of the sides, especially along the softer western edge, to collapse exposing a multitude of sherds, mostly Roman in date. During the high months of summer, when the water level drops about three meters, villagers report that walls are visible, indicating that at least some of the architecture uncovered by the early excavators may be relatively near the surface.

The village of Kom Ge'if has apparently expanded considerably since Petrie's time. Today the name Kom Ge'if actually refers to a federation of five villages surrounding the lake that has formed in the excavated area. Kom Ge'if is also the name of the southernmost, and largest, of the five villages with a population of several hundred. The other villages are much smaller and, with the exception of Tal Tashwan which is situated off to the northwest, all are clustered around the water's edge. Indeed some of the houses of Tal Abu Meshfa are only three meters from the edge of the lake, indicating the important role that this newly formed body of water plays in the daily lives of the villagers. A modern cemetery, El-Sheikh Abdel Fatah el-Malah, lies close to the lake on its western edge.

Although the early excavations at Naukratis are presently underwater, traces of the ancient city are still visible and warrant further investigation.

FIGURE 2



Gerald W. Johnson

The most promising remnant of ancient Naukratis is situated at the southern end of the site, far from the modern lake in an area almost completely surrounded by the village of Kom Ge'if. Here Petrie excavated a large, 870 x 746 foot, structure called the "Great Temenos," which he suggested had most probably been used by the East Greek merchants as a place of assembly, and a rallying point in times of danger. This structure was reportedly open to the air and surrounded by a massive mudbrick wall with an average thickness of fifty feet. Within this enclosure were two large buildings: one destroyed, and the other referred to as the "Great Mound" described by Petrie as a mass of brickwork containing chambers and passageways, and identified by him as the storehouse and fortress of the city.

Today all that remains of this imposing structure is a sixty by ninety meter mound rising five meters above the present ground surface. Sections of mudbrick walls can still be seen in the southern and southwestern parts of this mound. If the measurements published by Petrie are correct, this is the location of his "Great Mound" within the Great Temenos, and the brickwork now visible may belong to the southern wall of his storehouse. Yet, Petrie gives the impression of having completely excavated the storehouse, and thus it is difficult to understand the relationship of the present mound to the Great Temenos. Either Petrie did not completely excavate the storehouse, and thus the mudbrick which can be seen today represents the southern wall of this building, or his measurements and plan are incorrect and the visible brickwork represents an unexcavated portion of the southern wall of the Temenos itself. In either case, future excavation should clarify this situation and shed light on a most intriguing architectural complex.

During his work at Naukratis, Petrie noted eight to ten foot slag heaps, in association with frescoed Roman brick architecture, to the east and west of his excavations. He did not, unfortunately, differentiate between the two areas but instead considered them both as the remains of a Roman lime-slaking operation. Of these large slag heaps nothing remains today although a small, one-by-one meter, kiln(?) was noted at the western edge of the lake northeast of the cemetery. Because of its size it would be difficult to equate this installation with the massive structure(s) described by Petrie unless his Roman brickwork lies under the modern cemetery. As in the case of the Great Temenos, only future excavation can clarify the situation.

Petrie placed his second slag heap to the east of the excavated area. The "mound" that was present here in the nineteenth century has now been almost completely levelled, but its outline can be traced over a fifty by seventy-five meter area. The many pieces of metal slag that cover this area indicate that it was used not for lime-slaking, as Petrie had suggested, but rather for metal working, a fact which is reinforced by the modern name of the area, Kom Hadid ("Mound of Iron").

The fourth possible remnant of the ancient city is to be found in the center of the northern edge of the lake where several, partially submerged, fragmentary courses of red brickwork are visible. The fact that the people of the neighboring villages of Tal Abu Meshfa and Tal Gebril Abas could not account for the presence of these sections of walling raises the possibility that they may have belonged to a structure of the Roman Period, but again clarification must await further exploration and possibly excavation.

The original extent of the ancient city of Naukratis is, at present, difficult to determine. The land of the surrounding area is flat, and there are neither hills that would afford natural boundaries nor remains of any walls or fortifications. The fields of the cultivated areas, especially to the south of the site between Kom Ge'if and el-Roba, are full of sherds many of which are Roman in date possibly indicating a southerly expansion of the site during the first few centuries A.D. But here a caveat must be inserted. We know from the early publications that the combined excavations of Petrie, Gardner and Hogarth produced sizeable dumps of earth that were not evident during our inspection of the site. It is, therefore, probable that over the past three-quarters of a century these dumps, with their ceramic inclusions, have been disseminated throughout the surrounding fields as sebakhs.

With this in mind our surface collection was taken only in the immediate vicinity of the lake, an area that should represent the cleanest, uncontaminated, sample presently retrievable. The subdivision of the lake's perimeter into seven sections (see figure 3) should add statistical collection. The results of our "sherding" will be presented in detail elsewhere but here we may note the high percentage of material which appears to be Hellenistic and Roman in date, periods that have generally been neglected by those who have studied the site of Naukratis.

Area A (figure 4) produced pottery of a distinctive Roman character with some local imitations of African Red Slip Ware. The fabric is reddish brown in color, sometimes red or pinkish, with a thin slip, slightly deeper in color, applied over the entire surface. The exteriors and interiors of rims are often quite abraded, and it is here that the slip has worn away exposing a rather poor quality clay, containing fine quartz particles and mica flakes. In fact, sand-sized micaceous inclusions are common, indicating the use of sand as a temper. This is a characteristic which enables one to identify these Naukratite imitations. The forms of the vessels seem to be quite wide-ranging. Cat. 1 is the rim of a flat-based dish, imitating Form 63.3 of the Aftican R.S. Ware, whereas Cat. 2 from a bowl imitates Form 67.17 and Cat. 3 is the base of a dish or plate. Several coarse rims were also found and three amphora toes, two pointed and one squared, and one double amphora handle (Cat. 4). The imitation red-slip wares on the basis of their forms can be dated to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. and argue for Roman presence continuing quite late at Naukratis.

FIGURE 3

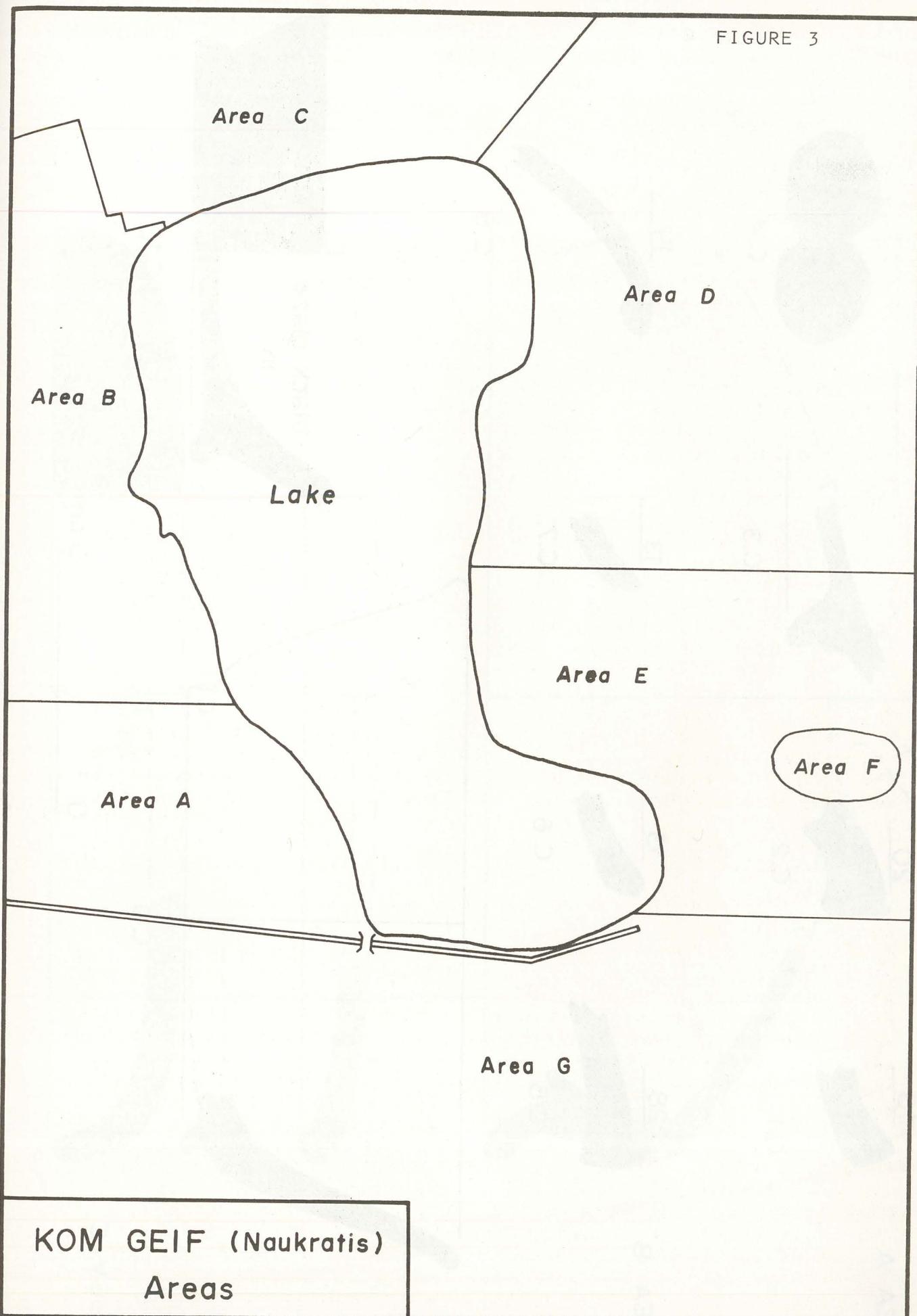


FIGURE 4

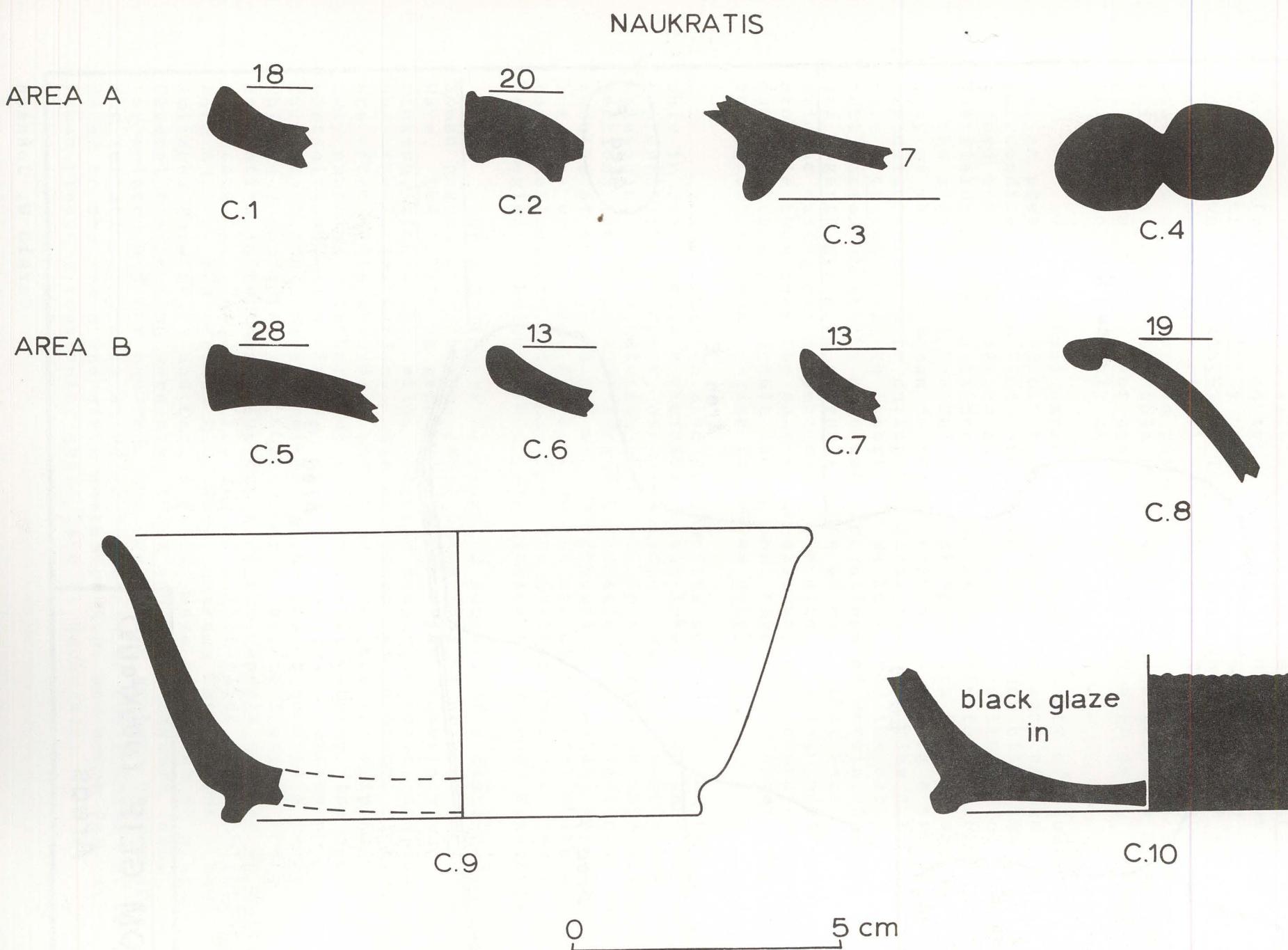
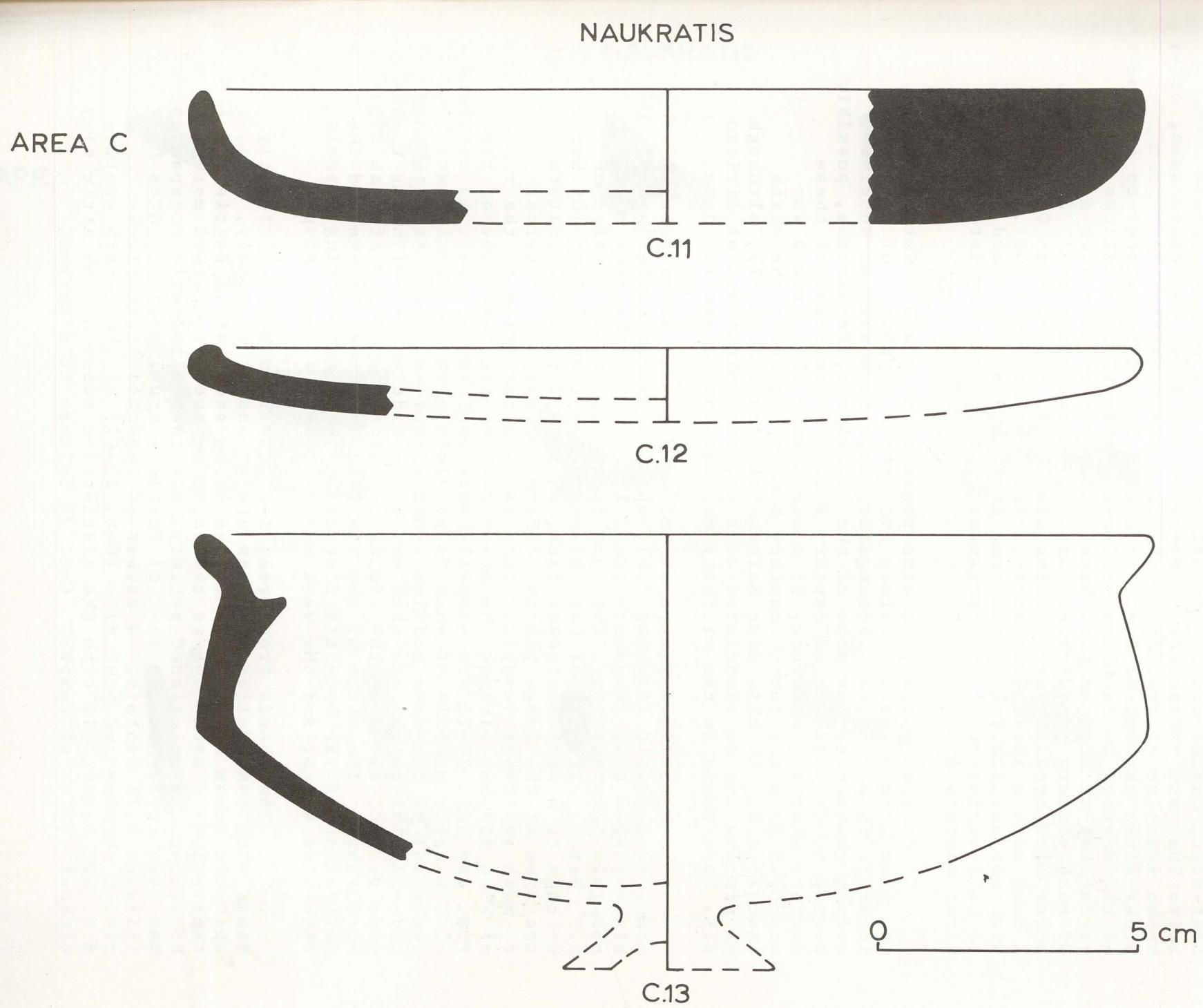


FIGURE 5



Area B (figure 4) also produced local imitations of African R.S. Ware with the same micaceous fabric as that of Area A. The rim of Cat. 5, belonging to a large bowl, appears to be a variation of Form 67.17, while Cat. 6-7 belong to flat-based dishes and are variations of Form 63.3/4. These imitations and variations of Forms 63 and 67 do not occur among other known examples of Egyptian red-slip wares (Egyptian "A") from other sites throughout Egypt, and thus Naukratis belongs to an area of the Western Delta which produced distinctive imitations and variations of African R.S. Ware. It may even have been a center of such pottery production. Cat. 8, on the other hand, does occur elsewhere in Egypt, being similar to vessel Type 0, a bowl with a short overhanging rim. Another bowl (Cat. 9) is also not paralleled by the true African R.S. Wares and appears to be a variation of the Pergamene bell-cup and may date to the first century A.D.

Greek pottery is also present in Area B. Cat. 10 is the base from a fourth century B.C. Attic skyphos. Of particular interest is a stamped (rectangular) amphora handle of Rhodian origin containing the name of the fabricant, Menekrates, possibly dating to the mid-second century B.C. On the basis of these surface sherds, therefore, it seems likely that Area B was occupied from the fourth century B.C. to at least the sixth century A.D. In this area belongs the small kiln (?); although no pottery can be associated with it, the imitations of African R.S. Ware found in the vicinity may indicate a general date.

A similar mixture of Hellenistic and Roman pottery comes from Area C (figures 5,6), which produced Hellenistic black-glazed bowl fragments (Cat. 11, 14-15), the base of a possible lekythos (Cat. 19), and local imitations of African R.S. Wares. The rim of Cat. 12 resembles that of Form 109 but belongs to a much shallower dish, whereas Cat. 16-17 imitate the rims of the large plates of Form 105 but, again belong to much shallower vessels. Cat. 18 is a variation of the rim of Form 107 but without the heavy roll on the underside of the rim, and Cat. 20-21 are miscellaneous bowl bases. Cat. 13 consists of the upper profile of what is possibly a stemmed bowl (base restored) of the same reddish brown micaceous fabric as the other red-slip imitations and thus may be considered as belonging to the same period, although the rim is not from a strictly African R.S. Ware shape. The shape of the rim with its inner flange and the carination of the body are more suited to Roman cooking vessels than fine wares, and the vase may represent a local shape.

The sherds from Areas A-C appear to be predominantly Roman with some Hellenistic admixture, and it is likely, then, that the Roman city spread to the north and west of Petrie's excavations. Areas D-E to the east, however, contained more Hellenistic black-glazed pottery, and the Hellenistic occupation may have spread to the east of Petrie's archaic city. Area D (figures 6,7) contained a number of imported Attic black-glazed skyphos and bowl rims (Cat. 22-27) of the fourth century B.C. and later, all with the distinctive reddish pink Attic clay without traces of temper. Cat. 28 belongs to a krater,

FIGURE 6

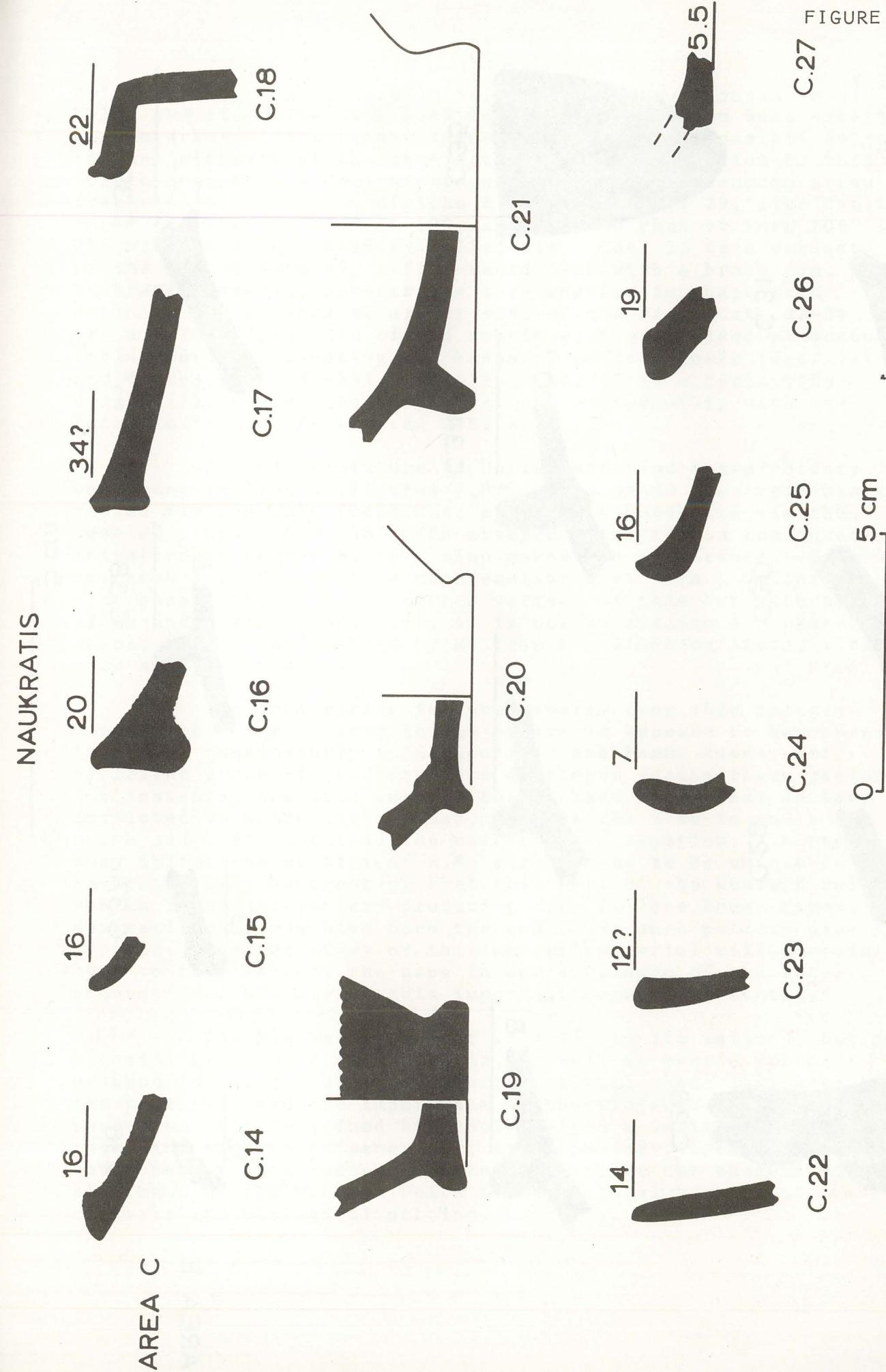
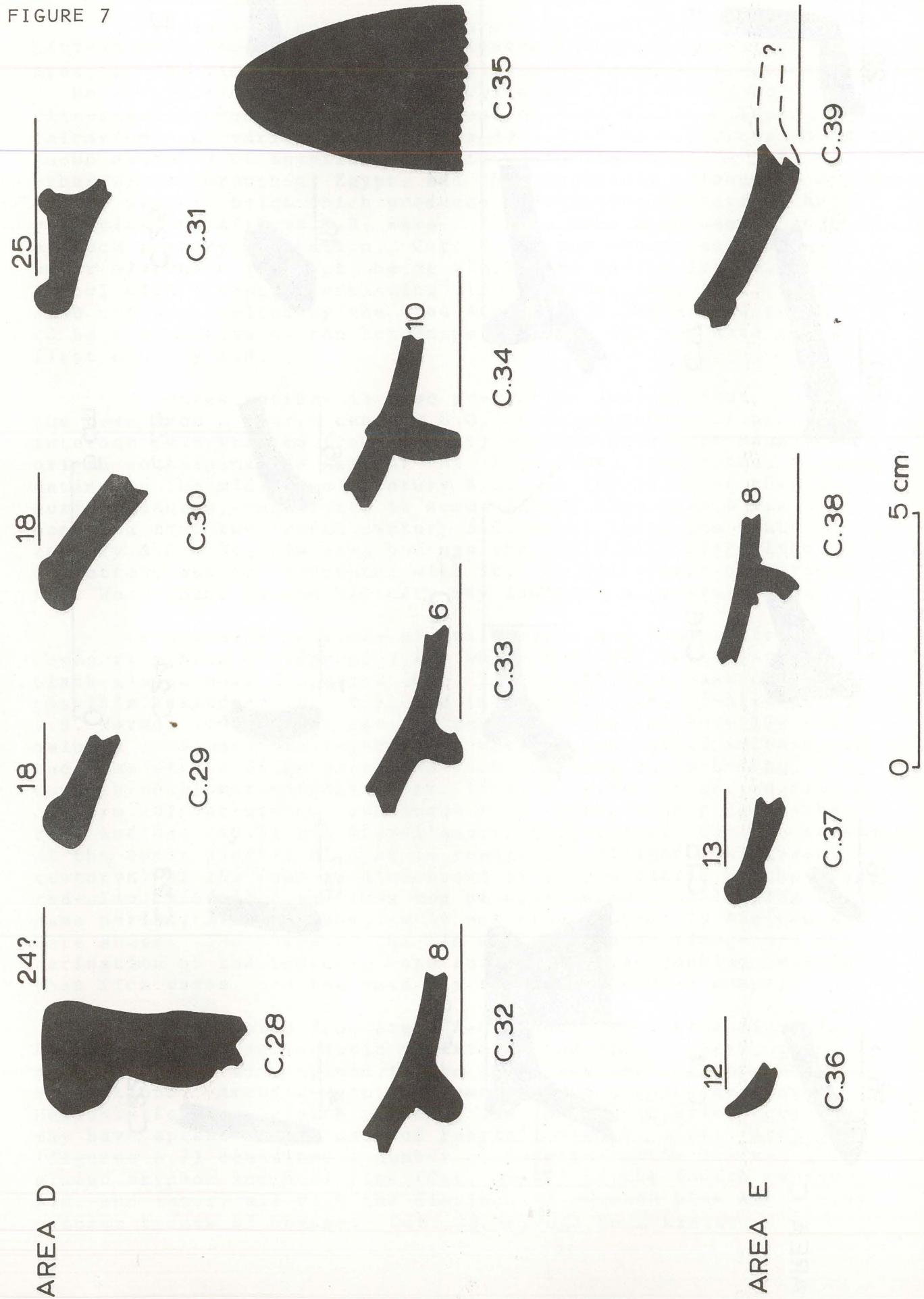


FIGURE 7

NAUKRATIS



Hellenistic in date, with an imitation "egg-and-tongue" moulding below the rim. The dark grey fabric is covered on both exterior and interior with a rather inferior black glaze possibly suggesting an imitation of the true Attic ware. In addition to this fourth century and Hellenistic pottery, Area D produced a few fragments of imitation African R.S. Ware. Cat. 29, like Cat. 12, resembles the rim of Form 109, and Cat. 30 that of Form 106 but without such a heavily rolled rim. Cat. 31 is a variant of the rim of Form 59, a flat-based dish with a broad rim. The Naukratis example, however, is more angular in shape with definite projections at either side of the rim. Cat. 32-34 are all local products of red fabric with sand-sized micaceous inclusions, representing the bases of various bowls (Cat. 34) and dishes (Cat. 32-33). Finally, Cat. 35 is a terracotta weight (?), conical in shape, perhaps contemporary with the local imitations of African R.S. Ware.

A similar mixture of Hellenistic and Roman pottery was found in Area E (figures 7,8). Cat. 36-39 are Attic black-glazed rim and base fragments; especially noteworthy is the base of a bowl (Cat. 38) with stamped palmettes on the interior. Imitation African R.S. Ware also makes its appearance. Cat. 40 imitates Form 62 but is a much smaller dish with a definite flat base; Cat. 41 is a further variant of this but with straight sides and a flat base. Cat. 42 is not an African R.S. Ware shape; but is paralleled by H4 from the Athenian Agora, although much smaller in size.

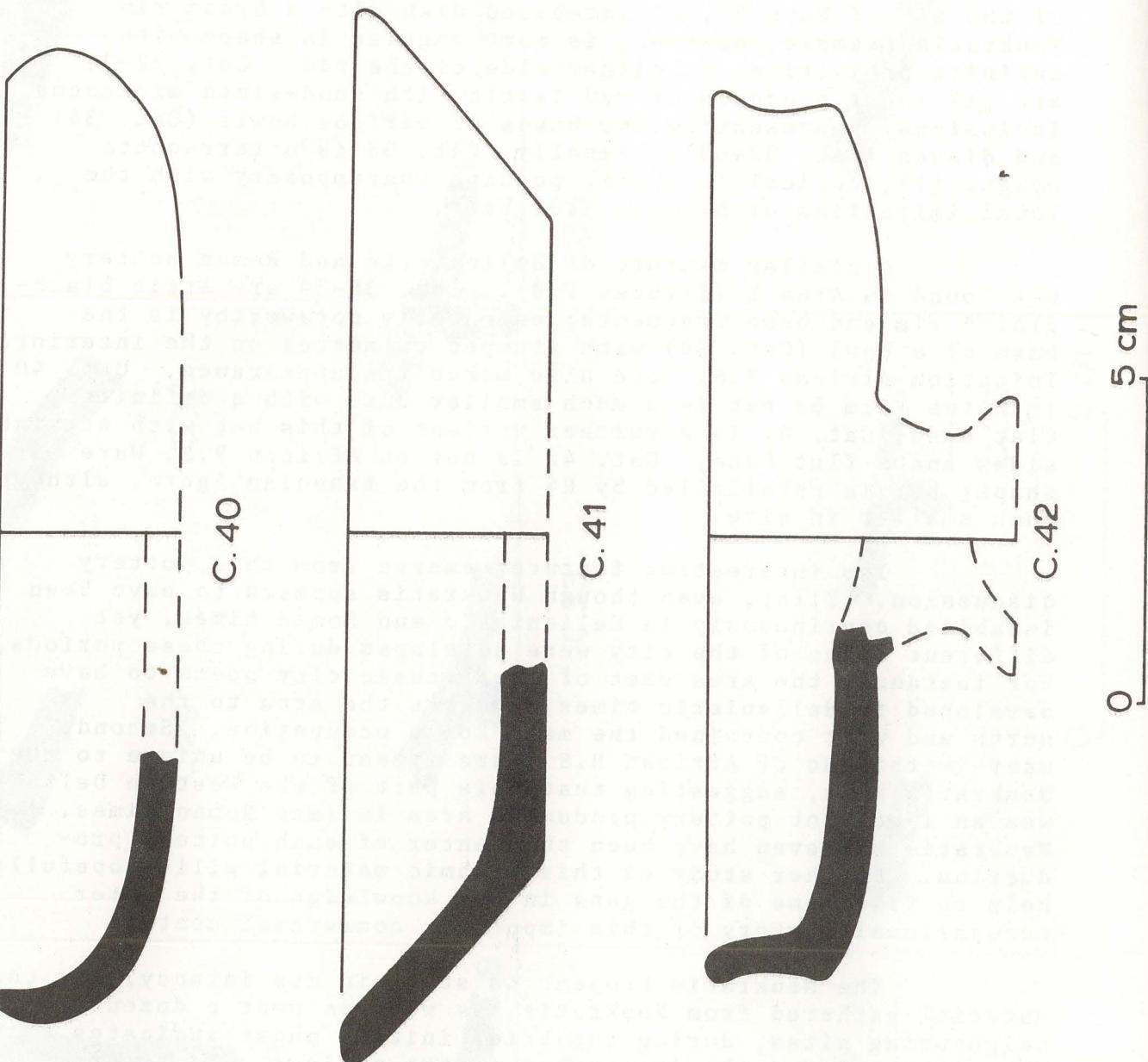
Two interesting features emerge from this pottery discussion. First, even though Naukratis appears to have been inhabited continuously in Hellenistic and Roman times, yet different areas of the city were developed during these periods. For instance, the area east of the archaic city seems to have developed in Hellenistic times, whereas the area to the north and west contained the main Roman occupation. Second, many imitations of African R.S. Ware appear to be unique to the Naukratis area, suggesting that this part of the Western Delta was an important pottery producing area in late Roman times. Naukratis may even have been the center of such pottery production. Further study of this ceramic material will, hopefully, help to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge of the later occupational history of this important commercial center.

The Naukratis Project is still in its infancy, but the material gathered from Naukratis, as well as over a dozen neighboring sites, during the brief initial phase indicates both the potential and the importance of the project. In future phases we will be joined by scholars from a variety of disciplines including *inter alia* geography, geomorphology, botany and anthropology in a concerted attempt to place the ancient cities and towns of the Western Delta in their total historical, cultural and ecological setting.

RESEARCHING SIRAT ANTAR:
A REPORT ON WORK-IN-PROGRESS

Peter Heath
Harvard University
ARCE Fellow, 1976-77

NAUKRATIS



From October, 1976, until September, 1977, I was a Fellow of the American Research Center in Egypt. During this time I carried out research for my PhD dissertation for the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations of Harvard University, the subject of my dissertation being the Arabic oral epic, Sirat Antar.

Sirat Antar is one of a group of popular oral epics which were either read or orally recited publicly in much of the Middle East. These works are not folk tales which anyone could memorize and relate, but quite extensive corpora which had their own characteristic style and vocabulary and which were narrated by a class of professional or semi-professional performers who usually specialized in only one of the works. (The best description of the various categories of performers and their methods of performing in early nineteenth century Cairo, when the art was still widespread, is in E.W. Lane's Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, chapters 21-23; "Public Recitations of Romances".)

The study of Arabic popular siras has been conducted unsystematically, although not always uninterestingly, by western scholars for the last century and a half, while until very recently it was totally ignored by Arab scholars. Previous western studies have characteristically taken one sira, described its contents, made various proposals about its origin and development, and either compared it to the historical events the sira claimed to narrate or to western medieval epics such as Chanson de Roland.

In general, these studies have been marred by several basic methodological deficiencies. Scholars have based their studies on only one manuscript or printed version of the work, disregarding the large corpus of sira manuscripts. Even more significant, they have either ignored or been ignorant of the important influence which the particularities of oral narration have exerted on the structure and style of popular siras. Finally, because scholars have almost invariably studied only one sira, they have not fully differentiated between the stylistic and substantive features which were unique to the particular sira they were studying and the generic traits which are common to popular sira literature as a whole. Thus, useful and interesting as previous studies of sira literature may be, they have ignored a great mass of paleographical and internal evidence, while further dimensions of structural, stylistic, generic, and general literary analysis and critique have not even been approached.

From the beginning of my study of Sirat Antar, therefore, I decided to approach it from the viewpoints of literary criticism and folkloristics rather than the concerns of philology or history which had dominated most previous studies. While not neglecting the still important problems of the genesis and development of the sira, I decided to widen my scope to include the evidence which the manuscript and oral traditions could offer in regard to these problems. A survey of the manuscript and oral traditions of both Antar and other prominent siras, such as the Bani Hilal and Dhat al-Himma, would also clarify the general characteristics of the genre and provide a wealth of information concerning stylistic and structural aspects of the work.

I went to Cairo with two objectives. The first was to examine manuscripts of Sirat Antar and other siras at the Dar al-Kutub library, and the second was to investigate whatever remained of the oral tradition. In this later undertaking, I hoped to attain the assistance of the scholars at the Center of Folk Arts which was established in Cairo in the 1950's, and which I understood to have a large collection of tapes and skilled field workers who, I hoped, could put me in contact with performers.

It may be said that it is the fate of many researchers and fieldworkers to come to the field with certain preconceived ideas of what they will find, only to have these preconceptions altered, or even shattered, by actual conditions. This fate is almost unavoidable for those who come to Cairo, because the confusion that has become part of everyday life makes the process of having correct information beforehand, or even of obtaining it quickly after one has arrived, very difficult. As much as I love and enjoy the city, I must admit it is not the easiest place in which to carry out research. It was only at the point that I was leaving Egypt at the end of my year that I felt I had managed to obtain a good idea of field conditions and was in a position to carry out my research on the oral tradition. This is a feeling which undoubtedly has been experienced by many researchers who have come to Egypt, and one is tempted to say that it is not the water of the Nile that makes visitors return to Egypt, but rather unfinished business.

Yet, the results of my investigation of that year, incomplete as they were in some respects, are by no means unimportant for my study of Sirat Antar. I emerged from the uncertain world of the Dar al-Kutub fairly sure that I had seen all of the manuscripts related to my study and thus had a sense of completion in regard to this part of my project. With the other part, investigating the performance aspects of sira literature, I had less success.

The aforementioned Folk Art Center helped me much less than I had hoped. In spite of several able and interested workers, it has suffered recently from the difficulties that plague Egypt in general - namely lack of funds and poor organization. The problem was not that they were unwilling to let me listen to tapes, it was that they could not find them. They are now, however, in the process of reorganizing and one may hope that under the able and energetic management of its new Director, Dr. Ahmed Mursi, some of the Center's ills may be cured.

My own efforts to find performers of siras were hampered by my ignorance (as well as that of everyone else, as far as I could tell) of what there was to find. I would be directed by an informant to a certain place where he was sure reciters performed, only to find that they had indeed once performed there, but had not been seen for the past ten or fifteen years. This experience, which happened to me several times, is in itself a good indication of what has been happening in the world of oral sira narration. Members of the once potential audience have become so uninterested in listening to siras that they do not even realize that they no longer exist.

During the last half century, the increasing spread of radio and television in first the urban and then the rural areas of the Middle East has brought about an almost complete destruction of this once thriving oral tradition. The highly evolved traits which characterized the sira genre, the specialized style, the flamboyancy of the performance, the performance, the length of the work, all developed with the purpose of attracting the attention of a coffee house audience and of holding it through the months it would take to complete the narration of a long work such as Sirat Antar. All of these traits demanded a high degree of professionalism on the part of the reciters. When radio and television eliminated this audience, the fragile chain of apprenticeship was destroyed. Today only a handful of active performers remain. Most of these are middle-aged or older, and there seems little doubt that they will be the last generation to learn the art. It is not that younger relatives, who would be the most likely to become apprentices, no longer care to learn, or that the natural audience, the fellahin, are uninterested in listening to these works. It is just that there are no longer any appropriate times or places where these works can still be performed. As I wandered through various sections of Cairo during Ramadan last summer, looking for the folk performances which were once an outstanding characteristic of Ramadan nights, I found instead the coffee houses full of viewers watching old movies on television.

As I indicated above, I left Cairo feeling that my field work was incomplete. But at least when I return in the near future, I will arrive with a much clearer and more accurate idea of what to look for and where to look. My investigation is not impeded by having discovered that time is fast running out for the few remaining performers of siras in Egypt. Those who wish to study the last real performances of this unique folk art have little time to waste.

